

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 144602
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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 144602

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE THEMES: PROPOSED REDRAFT OF INTRODUCTION
TO UK PAPER

THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF DEPARTMENT'S REDRAFT OF INTRODUCTORY
SECTION OF UK THEMES PAPER DISCUSSED IN SEPTTEL.

BEGIN TEXT:

INTRODUCTION

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 144602

SINCE 1975, CSCE HAS COME TO SIGNIFY BOTH EFFORTS AT
PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENT IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND THE
DIFFERENCES IN CONCEPT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST OVER DETENTE.
THE BELGRADE MEETING WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SET
FORTH THE WESTERN VIEW ON HOW TO CONTINUE THE CSCE PROCESS
ON A MORE CONCRETE BASIS AND THUS CONTRIBUTE TO THE
DETENTE PROCESS. - -

WESTERN GOALS AT BELGRADE SHOULD BE TO ENCOURAGE EASTERN COUNTRIES TO A MORE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT IN A FASHION DESIRED BY THE WEST. THIS IMPLEMENTATION TO SHOW WHERE IMPROVEMENTS ARE NECESSARY.

WE SHOULD STRESS OUR DETERMINATION TO HAVE THE BENEFITS OF DETENTE APPLY TO THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS AS WELL AS TO RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. ALSO IMPORTANT WILL BE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE WEST TAKES A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND THAT THE EAST IS NOT THE PACESETTER IN DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE. ONE WAY TO DEMONSTRATE THIS FACT WILL BE THROUGH SUBMISSION OF A CAREFULLY TAILORED LIST OF NEW PROPOSALS. AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME, THE WEST SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER MEANS OF CONTINUING THE CSCE PROCESS THROUGH FURTHER BELGRADE-STYLE FOLLOW-UP REVIEW MEETINGS.

EASTERN GOALS WILL BE TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE OF THE IDEA THAT PROGRESS IN DETENTE MUST COME THROUGH IMPROVEMENT IN STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS. THE EAST WILL STRESS THE ASPECTS OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WHICH SUPPORT THIS CONTENTION AND WILL ARGUE THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF BASKETS II AND III MUST BE VIEWED IN THIS LIGHT. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WILL CONTEND THAT IMPLEMENTATION HAS BEEN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 144602

GOOD AND THAT THE TASK OF THE BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD BE TO DEVISE MEANS OF ASSURING THAT THE CSCE PROCESS CONTRIBUTES TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES.

THEMES

A. THE FINAL ACT REPRESENTS A COMMITMENT BY SIGNATORIES TO WORK FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN ALL AREAS TAKEN UP AT THE CONFERENCE. THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION SETS A STANDARD FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. IN BASKETS II AND III THE SIGNATORIES UNDERTAKE TO MAKE SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS IN A NUMBER OF AREAS. A REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE SPECIFIC UNDERTAKINGS IS THE FIRST TASK OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE AND IS EQUALLY AS IMPORTANT AS A DISCUSSION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES.

B. THE CSCE PROCESS IS A LONG TERM AFFAIR WHICH WILL TAKE TIME TO MAKE ITS FULL MARK. BELGRADE IS A FIRST CHECKPOINT DOWN A LONG ROAD. HOWEVER, EVEN AFTER TWO YEARS, SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS SHOULD ALREADY HAVE BEEN MADE.

C. AN IMPORTANT AREA WHERE PROGRESS SHOULD BE MADE CONCERNS THE RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS TO PARTAKE OF THE ADVANTAGES PROPOSED IN THE FINAL ACT. UNLESS CSCE RESULTS IN IMPROVEMENTS FOR THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS, NEITHER IT NOR THE PROCESS OF DETENTE CAN PROGRESS SATISFACTORILY.

D. WE DO NOT DENY THAT THERE IS ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT IN IMPLEMENTATION BY ALL SIGNATORIES, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE WEST. WE ARE WILLING TO LISTEN TO ALL COMMENTS ABOUT OUR OWN IMPLEMENTATION AND TO ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE OUR RECORD. BUT THE FACT IS THAT THE WEST STARTS FROM A HIGHER LEVEL OF IMPLEMENTATION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 144602

THAN DOES THE EAST. THE FINAL ACT REFLECTS A STANDARD OF CONDUCT WHICH WE HAVE LARGELY FOLLOWED FOR MANY YEARS. WE ALSO HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF STEPS TO BRING OUR PRACTICES FURTHER INTO LINE WITH THE FINAL ACT. EASTERN COUNTRIES, WHICH STARTED FROM A LOW THRESHOLD, HAVE MADE PROGRESS BUT MOVEMENT HAS BEEN LIMITED AND MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. WILLINGNESS BY ALL PARTICIPANTS TO IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION IS A TOUCHSTONE OF THEIR SINCERITY AND BELIEF IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE.

E. IN THIS SPIRIT, WE DO NOT ACCEPT THE CONTENTION THAT MATTERS TOUCHING ON EXCHANGES OF INFORMATION, VISITS AND TRAVEL AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARE SOLELY SUBJECTS OF INTERNAL CONCERN TO THE INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS. THE FINAL ACT PROVIDES A STANDARD FOR MEASUREMENT OF BEHAVIOR OF ALL WHO HAVE SUBSCRIBED TO IT. DETENTE CANNOT BE APPLIED SELECTIVELY, EITHER AS TO SUBJECT MATTER OR TO GEOGRAPHIC AREA. HUMAN RIGHTS IS A SUBJECT OF LEGITIMATE CONCERN TO ALL WHO ARE INTERESTED IN THE SUCCESS OF DETENTE.

F. THE APPROACH TO THE BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP MEETING ADOPTED BY WESTERN COUNTRIES IS CONSTRUCTIVE AND FORWARD-LOOKING. IT IS BASED ON THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF THE FINAL ACT TO THE CSCE PROCESS AND ON OUR BELIEF THAT IF THE PROCESS IS TO CONTINUE WE MUST BE AWARE OF AREAS WHERE IMPROVEMENT IS NEEDED.

END TEXT.

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